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2. IRAN: THE LEFT IS FURTHER WEAKENED

Recent government actions have clearly put the left in Iran on the defensive, and it no longer appears to pose a threat to the regime. The three main leftist organizations -- Tudeh, Mujahidin, and Fedayeen -- are divided among themselves. There is some contact between the Mujahidin and Fedayeen, but they do not work together, and they both refuse to deal with the Tudeh, which they view as a Soviet tool. Only an event such as Khomeini's death offers much prospect of arresting the left's decline, and only an extended period of crisis would enable it to recover significantly from its present weak position.

In its efforts to weaken the left, the regime:

- --incited 200 youths to attack Tudeh (pro-Soviet Communist) party headquarters on July 21. The Tudeh has been called the "real threat" to the revolution, and Ghotbzadeh recently implicated the party in his attack on Soviet espionage activities. Moreover, some clerics have suggested that the Tudeh may have had connections with the coup plotters arrested in July.
- --directed a violent attack on a Mujahidin (Islamic socialists) rally in June. It has since charged the Mujahidin with being counter-revolutionaries and forced their organization to close its offices and maintain a low-profile.
- --closed all universities, the centers of leftist activities, in its Islamization drive. The regime is currently planning an Islamic rehabilitation program for all students and faculty.

In addition to being hurt by these government actions, the left has also been weakened recently by its own internal problems:

- --The Tudeh seems to have a division between a nationalist and a pro-Soviet wing. Its leader, Kianuri, is a pro-Soviet hardliner who has disturbed many party cadres. Several reports indicate that he may be forced out soon.
- --The Fedayeen (independent Marxist-Leninists) is split between a majority faction which outwardly supports Khomeini and a minority faction which has denounced Khomeini and believes in continued armed struggle. The latter group is in Kurdistan fighting government forces.

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State Department review completed